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Hermas in Arcadia.

BY PROF. J. R. HARRIS, M.A.

THE object of the present paper is to set at rest a critical difficulty which has been raised concerning the interpretation of the tract of Hermas which goes under the heading of the Ninth Similitude ; and to indicate a direction in which further light may be obtained on the vexed question of the date of this remarkable writer. The difficulty is in the first instance one of interpretation : we find in the writings of Hermas a blending of the real experiences of life with imaginary importations from current mythologies which render it hard to decide whether the writer wishes us to take him seriously, or to apply to his works an allegorical interpretation such as was common enough in early times, both in pagan and Jewish and Christian circles. And it is probably this perplexity rather than a mere personal fondness for such interpretations which led Origen to explain even the most strongly defined personal allusions in Hermas, the names of Clement and Grapte, in a spiritual manner. We may at least conclude that the subject invited such treatment. We may easily agree that the allusions to his life in Rome in the first Vision are genuine history, from which the step to the second Vision, which contains a visit to Cumæ, seems natural, as does also the account of the walk on the Via Campana in the third Vision. But if we admit these passages to be meant for a literal acceptance, we certainly cannot admit the interview with the Church-Sibyl to be anything but a work of imagination based on popular religious mythology. And we should not find it easy to determine where the literal ends and the allegorical begins. We are thus in much the same case as an interpreter of the Pilgrim's Progress would be who had sufficient knowledge of Bunyan's history to see that the "certain den" with which the book opens is the Bedford prison, and who had sufficient insight to determine that the rest of the book was allegorical, but who was wanting both in the historical information and in the intuitive perception by which to detect the traces of Bunyan's personal history which lurk behind the folds of the Allegory. It is however generally

held that the mention of places not very remote from Rome ought to be accepted as sufficient evidence that the writer is giving us history rather than romance. The Via Campana, at least, scarcely admits of being allegorized, nor the mile-stones which Hermas passes on the road : with Cumæ the question is a little more involved, but even here the general opinion has been, and probably will remain in favor of the positive geographical acceptance of Hermas's words.

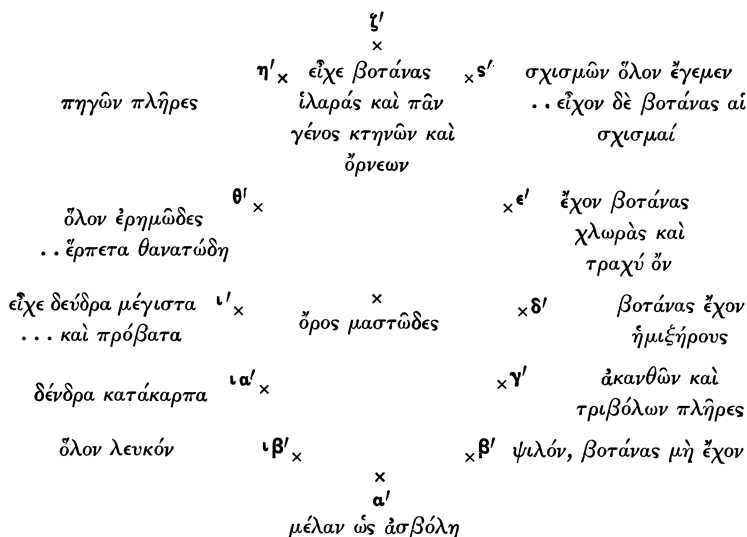
Such being the case, it is not a little surprising that, when we have so many Italian allusions in the book of Visions, we should find ourselves transported in the Ninth Similitude into Arcadia, and there regaled with an allegorical account of the building of the Church, which outdoes in fantastic detail the whole of the previous accounts. Are we to assume that, as in the case quoted from the Pilgrim's Progress, the initial note of place is to be accepted literally, and that from that point we plunge into allegory ; or is the whole a work of imagination from the start? In the latter case, how can we explain the change of literary method involved in the comparison between a real Rome, Cumæ, Via Campana, and a poetic Arcadia? In the former case, how did the Roman Hermas find his way into the most inaccessible part of Greece? It was no doubt through some such questioning that Zahn was led to propose an emendation in the text of Hermas so that instead of reading

καὶ ἀπήγαγέν με εἰς Ἀρκαδίαν

we should put Ἀρικίαν for Ἀρκαδίαν. The advantage of this correction was that it transferred the scene again to the neighborhood of Rome, and restored the literary parallelism between the Ninth Similitude and the book of Visions. To support this conjecture, Zahn first brought forward a case where the word Ἀρικίαν had been corrupted in transcription, viz. : a passage in the Acts of Peter and Paul, c. 20, where the scribe has in error given Ἀραβίαν. If Arabia, why not Arcadia?

Then he proceeds to show that the country around Aricia corresponds to the description given by Hermas of Arcadian scenery, and, in particular, he identifies the "rounded hill" (ὄρος μαστῶδες) to which Hermas was transported, with the Italian *Monte Gentile*. I do not know whether this suggestion of Zahn has met with any great favor, although it is ingenious, and not outside the bounds of possibility. The objection to it is chiefly that which falls to the lot of the majority of conjectural emendations, viz. : that it is not necessary ; for, as I shall show presently, the whole description of the country

visited by Hermas, corresponds closely with the current accounts of Arcadian scenery, and is probably based upon them. So that if I do not discuss Zahn's hypothesis directly, it is because it is a last resort of criticism to which one must not look until the normal methods of interpretation have broken down. Let us then examine the scene into which Hermas introduces us; and the interpretation which he puts upon what he sees. We are told in the first place that his guide led him away into Arcadia and there seated him upon the top of a rounded hill from whence he had a view of a wide plain surrounded by mountains of diverse character and appearance. We will indicate the description of these mountains by the following diagram, in which the successive eminences are ranged in a circular form, and attached to each is the leading characteristic which is noted by Hermas : —



Now before we begin to look for identifications with the scenery of any particular country or neighborhood, we should try to subtract from the description those details which are artistically inserted by Hermas in order to bring certain views of his own before the minds of his reader under the cover of his allegory. The matter of the Ninth Similitude so far as it concerns the building of the tower and the shaping of the various stones is already present in the third Vision; and there is much in the description that is parallel to the account given of the various stones which are brought from the twelve mountains. For example, just as in the third Vision we find stones

brought for building that are white, and some that are speckled, (ἐψωριακότες) ; some that are squared, and some that are round ; some that are sound, and some that have cracks in them. When we find, therefore, that in his Ninth Similitude Hermas makes his first mountain black as soot and his twelfth perfectly white, we know that it is more likely to be an expansion of the previous allegory than a natural feature ; and when we find him saying that some of the mountains had chasms (σχισμαί) in them, we must rather refer to the stones that have cracks in them (σχισμὰς ἔχοντες) than to any peculiarity of the mountain region, however the description may seem to invite the identification with the peculiar characteristic of Arcadia, the κατάβαθρα or underground passages and hollows of the mountains into which the rivers of that country so commonly precipitate themselves.

A similar process of subtraction must be made on account of the similarity between this Ninth Similitude and the one that precedes it. In this case the allegory turns upon the distribution by the angel of the Lord of a number of branches which he had cut from a great willow-tree. After a while the angel summons the people to whom he had given them and scrutinizes them carefully. Some brought back their branches withered, others half-withered and with cracks on their surface, (ἡμιξήρους καὶ σχισμὰς ἐχούσας,) others again were green, (χλωρὰς,) others had fruit, and so on. A comparison of these terms with those used by Hermas of his mountains will show that there has been a use made of the Eighth Similitude in the Ninth.

Nor must we suppose that there is any special identification with the particular number twelve. The number is introduced artificially and for the following reason : the mountains out of which the stones are taken are declared to represent the peoples of the earth out of whom the church is builded ; now the idea prevailed at any early period that since the Jewish Ecclesia was composed of twelve tribes, something of a similar nature was to be predicated concerning the Christian world which had replaced and comprehended the Jewish world. Otherwise how was an explanation possible of the sealing of the 144,000 in the Apocalypse? But then these twelve tribes could not be identified with nationalities and must therefore represent so many different types of character.

This is undoubtedly Hermas's idea, and it shows us that we must not suppose any geographical enumeration to be involved in the number twelve. The author of the *Opus Imperfectum in Matthæum* amongst his many traces of antiquity gives us the following on Matt.

xix. 28: "Adhuc autem audeo, et subtiliorem introducere sensum, et sententiam alterius cuiusdam viri referre. Exponit autem sic: Quoniam sicut Judaeorum populus in duodecim tribus fuit divisus, sic et universus populus Christianus divisus est in duodecim tribus secundum quasdam proprietates animorum et diversitates cordium, quas solus deus discernere et cognoscere potest, ut quaedam animae sunt de tribu Reuben, quaedam de tribu Simeon vel Levi vel Juda."

These twelve classes according to Hermas are

- α. Blasphemers and traitors.
- β. Hypocrites and wicked teachers.
- γ. Rich men and those who are involved in the business of life.¹
- δ. The double-minded.
- ε. Badly trained, self-willed people.
- ς. Slanderers and keepers of grudges.
- ζ. Simple, guileless, happy souls who give of their toils without hesitating and without reproach. (Cf. Teaching of Apostles.)
- η. Apostles and teachers.
- θ. Bad deacons who have plundered the widow and orphan. Lapsi who do not repent and return to the saints.
- ι. Hospitable bishops who entertain the servants of God.
- ι α. Martyrs for the Name, including those who thereby obtain a remission that was otherwise inaccessible to them.
- ι β. Babes of the Kingdom who keep all the commands of God.

These, then, are the twelve tribes of the new Israel; and, as I have said, we do not need to identify twelve mountains.

When we have made the deductions intimated from the imagery, we are left to identify the locality from the remaining data; and this we shall proceed to do. And to begin with, let us observe that the idea of Arcadia presented itself early in connection with Christianity. For example, that beautiful composition which passes under the name of the second epistle of Clement, but which seems rather to be an early Christian homily, declares (c. xiv) the pre-existence of the Church in the following terms: "Wherefore, my brethren, if we do the will of God our Father we shall be of the first church, viz.: the spiritual one, which *was created before the sun and moon* . . . For the Church was spiritual as was also our Jesus, and was mani-

¹ Note that these are said to be *πνιγόμενοι ὑπὸ τῶν πρᾶξεων αὐτοῦ*, and correspond to the mountain covered with thorns and briars; the reference to the Gospel (the thorns sprang up and choked them) seems indisputable.

fested in the last times." No doubt this language is in part to be explained like the Valentinian Syzygy of Man and the Church by reference to a gnosis on Genesis i. 27. The writer of the homily says as much, the first Adam having been created male with female, so was the second ; but what should be noticed is that the terms used to describe the pre-existence are not borrowed from Genesis, but from the Arcadian tradition that they existed in their mountain fastnesses before the moon, and it was thus that they explained their name of Προσέληνοι. What the writer of the homily means is that the Christian Church is the true Arcadia. And thus we have at once the explanation of the ideal journey which Hermas makes into Arcadia. For we find the same view held in the second Vision of Hermas (Vis. ii. 4, 1), where we are told even more decidedly that the Church was created first of all things. Similar ideas must have been common enough in the earlier centuries. So much being premised, let us put ourselves into the position of Hermas on the supposition that he has no more than the ordinary notions concerning Arcadia. We should simply be able to say that Arcadia was the innermost part of the Peloponnesus, and that it was shut in on every side by a ring of mountains. The rudest idea that could be formed would therefore be that of a plain within a circular mountain-wall ; precisely the kind of view with which the Ninth Similitude opens. Here dwell the remnants of the primitive and virtuous race of men whom the gods loved to visit, whose chief virtues were, according to Polybius, φιλοξενία and φιλανθρωπία. It may be noticed in passing, though I do not attach any importance to it, that Hermas makes one of his spiritual tribes, the good bishops, representative of the virtue of hospitality.

But it is plain that Hermas' knowledge goes beyond the elementary notion sketched above. This can be seen best by noticing the points which occur in the description of the mountains which have no special parallel in the allegorical explanation of the characters whom the mountains represent. For example, he adds to his description of his seventh mountain the fact that there were found on it all manner of beasts and birds ; the eighth mountain is full of springs ; the tenth mountain has sheep resting under the shade of its timber ; the ninth is full of snakes and evil beasts ; the eleventh shews fruit trees, and so on. But especially one should draw attention to the sixth mountain, whose description is ἔχον βοτάνας χλωρὰς καὶ τραχύ ὄν. The same language is used again in c. 22 τοῦ ἔχοντος βοτάνας χλωρὰς καὶ τράχεος ὄντος. Here all the editors print the word τραχύ as an

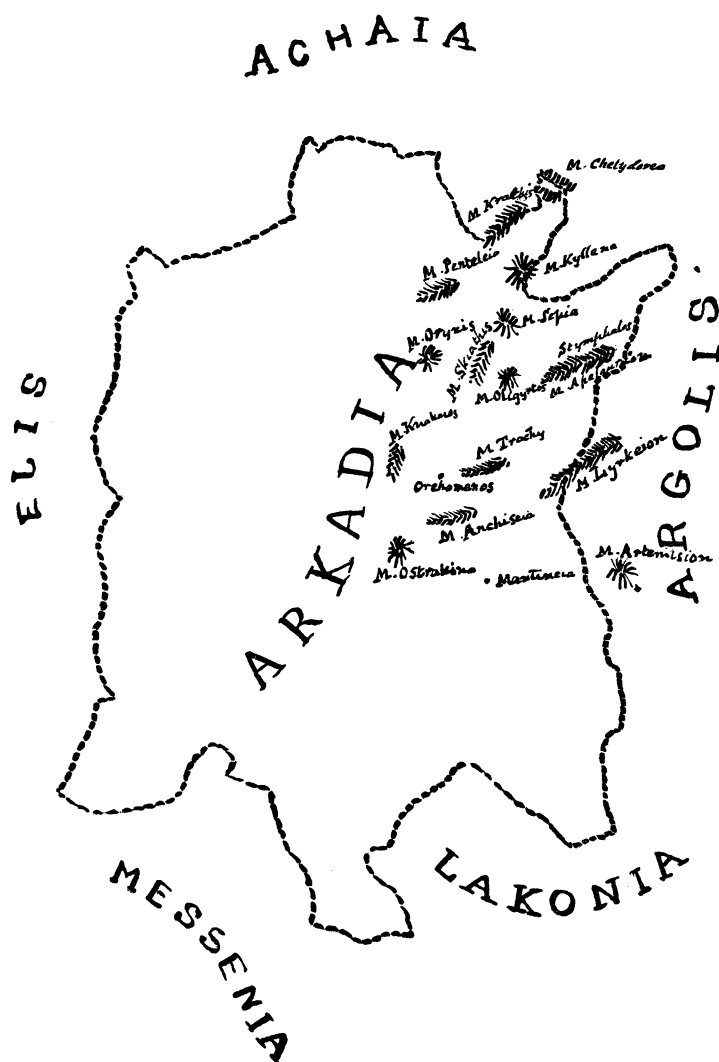
adjective, and it may be so; but if an adjective it is suggested by the name of one of the mountains of Arcadia. A reference to a map of Arcadia will shew this mountain on the eastern side of the plain of Orchomenos: E. Curtius in his *Peloponnessos* (i. 219) describes it as follows: "Den östlichen Berg nannten die alten seiner rauhen und schroffen Form wegen Trachy."

I suppose it will hardly be maintained to be an accidental coincidence that Hermas, writing of Arcadia, or professing to do so, should twice describe a particular mountain by the name which the ancients used to designate one of the mountains of Arcadia. So far from any such assumption being likely, the mere mention of the name Trachy would be sufficient to intimate that we were in Arcadia.

This identification being then made, we are able to take the next step, and to determine the plain in which the scene is laid and the rounded hill from which the scenery is viewed. This seems at first sight to be difficult, because, although to an outsider Arcadia might be pictured as a happy valley within mountains, in reality, like Switzerland, with which it has often been compared, it does not furnish any one central plain, but innumerable valleys and small plains; and although there are one or two larger and more spacious than others, none seems to correspond to the rounded form which Hermas' language would at first lead us to expect. But the mention of Mount Trachy shews that the plain must be the plain of Orchomenos, in the midst of which stands, dividing it into upper and lower respectively, the hill of Orchomenos, the strongest natural fortress of Arcadia and perhaps of ancient Greece. This then must be the *ὄρος μαστῶδες* of Hermas; it rises to a height of nearly 3000 feet immediately from the plain, and was famous even in Homeric times as one of the early Greek strongholds and cities.¹

Thus far we might have arrived from a study of the itinerary of Pausanias, from whose description of Arcadia we must make not a few references. Thus in xiii. § 2 we have the following notes: 'Ορχομενίους δὲ ἡ προτέρα πόλις ἐπὶ ὄρους ἦν ἄκρα τῇ κορυφῇ καὶ ἀγορᾶς τε καὶ τειχῶν ἐρείπια λείπεται: and in § 3. ἔστι δὲ ἀπαντικρὺ τῆς πόλεως ὄρος Τραχύ. τὸ δὲ ὕδωρ τὸ ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ διὰ χαράδρας ῥέον κοίλης μεταξὺ τῆς τε πόλεως καὶ τοῦ Τραχέος ὄρους κάτεισιν ἐς ἄλλο 'Ορχομένιον πεδῖον· τὸ δὲ πεδῖον τοῦτο μεγέθει μὲν μέγα, τὰ πλεῖα δὲ ἐστὶν αὐτοῦ

¹ Curtius, *Peloponnessos*, i. 220. "Die orchomenische Berg, eine Kuppe von 2912 F Höhe, welche Ithome ähnlich ist, und wie diese zwei Ebenen beherrscht, steigt unmittelbar aus dem Nachlande empor.



MAP ILLUSTRATING HERMAS VISIT TO ARCADIA

λίμνη. It appears, therefore, that the name Trachy was current for the mountain on the east of Orchomenos in the second century: Pausanias seems to have given us here a careful and correct description of the country.

Some of the other mountains to which Hermas makes reference may now be identified by the aid of Pausanias. For example, the ninth mountain is said to be full of serpents and noxious beasts. The mountain referred to is Mt. Sepia. The name is supposed to be derived from the venomous viper that was found there; and there were legends enough about the neighbourhood, even in Pausanias' time, to make it appear a country which was formerly something like Ireland before the arrival of St. Patrick. Here they said that Æpytus, the son of Elatos, met his death from the bite of a serpent. Cf. Pausan. Arcad. iv. 4. Κλείτορι δὲ τῷ Ἀζᾶνος οὐ γενομένων παιδῶν ἐς Αἴπυτον Ἐλάτου περιχώρησεν ἢ Ἀρκάδων βασιλεία. τὸν δὲ Αἴπυτον ἐξελθόντα ἐς ἄγρην θηρίων μὲν τῶν ἀλκιμωτέρων οὐδὲν, σῆψ δὲ οὐ προῖδόμενον ἀποκτίννυσσι. τὸν δὲ ὄφιν τοῦτον καὶ αὐτός ποτε εἶδον· κατὰ ἔχιν ἐστὶ τὸν μικρότατον, τέφρα ἐμφερέης, στίγμασιν οὐ συνέχεσι πεποικιλμένος κτέ.

xvi. 1. Τρικρήνων δὲ οὐ πόρρω ἄλλο ἐστὶν ὅρος Σηπία καὶ Αἰπύτῳ τῷ Ἐλάτου λέγουσιν ἐνταῦθα γένεσθαι τὴν τελευτὴν ἐκ τοῦ ἄφρως κτέ.

Now, I think, if we compare Pausanias' account of Æpytus' death while hunting, through no great beast, but by the bite of a viper, with Hermas' statement that in the ninth mountain there were *ἐρπετα θανατώδη, διαφθείροντα τοὺς ἀνθρώπους*, he will have little doubt that the mountain meant is Mt. Sepia.

The identification of these two mountains, Trachy and Sepia, I regard as established. They are respectively the fifth and ninth of Hermas' series, and whatever further progress in identification is possible, the results must harmonize with these so that the other mountains enclose a plain with them, and from an examination of the situation of these two on a map of Arcadia it is not difficult to infer that the order in which Hermas reckons his mountains is East — North — West — South. I am not, however, very sanguine of making any further identifications that would be equally convincing. It would be, however, possible to detect the origin of Hermas' many-fountained mountain. For we are informed by Pausanias that the emperor Adrian brought water for the city of Corinth all the way from Stymphalus: Paus. ii. iii. 5. Κρῆναι δὲ πολλὰι μὲν ἀνὰ τὴν πόλιν πεποιήνται πᾶσαι, ἅτε ἀφθόνου ρέοντός σφισιν ὕδατος, καὶ ὃ δὴ βασιλεὺς Ἀδριανὸς ἐσήγαγεν ἐκ Στυμφήλου. The language of Pausanias is in

close correspondence with Hermas, and the mountain is located in the eighth place in the field of view. The umbrageous mountain under the shade of which flocks of sheep were gathered might find its identification in the Mt. Skiathis, described by Pausanias as follows, xiv. 1, *Καρνῶν δὲ στάδια πέντε ἀφέστηκεν ἣ τε Ὀρυξίς καλονμένη καὶ ἕτερον Σκιάθις. ὑφ' ἐκατέρῳ δὲ ἔστι τῷ ὄρει βάραθρον τὸ ὕδωρ καταδεχόμενον τὸ ἐκ τοῦ πεδίου.*

According to this identification Mt. Skiathis should be the next in order to Mt. Sepia, since it is the tenth on Hermas' circle; and a reference to the map will shew that this conclusion is not contradicted by the geography of the region, except that I think Skiathis would appear a little to the right of Mt. Sepia to an observer on the hill of Orchomenos.¹ As to the other characteristics, it is not worth while to discuss the animal and vegetable products of Arcadia more at length: it is sufficient to say that Hermas' description shews a very fair acquaintance with ancient Greek geography: and we may naturally go on to enquire what were the sources of his knowledge.

I think that it will be sufficiently evident from what has gone before that there is at least a suspicion that the description is taken from Pausanias. When we remove from our minds those details which I have shown to be artificial creations of Hermas, and such generalities as attach themselves naturally to the idea of Arcadia as seen from the outside, we are left with peculiarities that at once fall in with the notes in the Itinerary of Pausanias. And these peculiarities are not the striking features of the Arcadian scenery, such as the lofty Mt. Cyllene² and the like, but somewhat insignificant details which would hardly have been noted except by a close observer who was making his own notes carefully as he went along, nor would they have been repeated except by some one who had carefully perused such an itinerary.³

¹ Note that Curtius says (i. 210), "*Σκιάθις* ist der Schattige Waldberg, gleich *σύνκιον ὕρος* bei Dikæarch. 75. Diesem Bergnamen entspricht der name des Dorfes Skotini das am abhange unseres Skiathis liegt."

² We cannot even be sure whether Hermas alludes to Mt. Cyllene at all; yet it must have been the most conspicuous feature of the landscape. The fact that it is not actually on the borders of the plain of Orchomenos, proves nothing; Mt. Sepia overlooks the valley of Stymphalus rather than the plain of Orchomenos, yet it is clearly alluded to by Hermas. Is Mt. Cyllene intended by the seventh mountain upon whose slopes are found all kinds of cattle and of birds?

³ For example, in addition to what has been said, notice that the leading feature in the southwest of the landscape is Mt. Ostrakina, and compare the

Now here a difficulty presents itself. No doubt we may admit a certain amount of agreement between Pausanias and Hermas, and it would be strange if two second-century writers, both dealing with the subject of Arcadia, had not expressed themselves in a manner which suggested peculiar coincidences in minor points, but in that case how could it be possible that Hermas could have utilized Pausanias, when that writer had not completed his Arcadia before the year 167 (as we shall show)? For determining the date of Pausanias' Itinerary we have, I believe, no facts besides those which are contained in the work itself. The chronological landmarks are as follows: In the seventh book of the Itinerary (Achaia 20, § 6) Pausanias explains that the Odeion at Athens was not described in his first book on Attica because Herodes Atticus had not built it at the time when the first book was written. Now Atticus is one of the leading figures of the second century, sufficiently known by his reputation as a rhetorician, as executor of magnificent public works all over Greece, and as a teacher and friend of Marcus Aurelius. The period of his life is supposed to be A.D. 104-180. Since the close of his life was embittered by the plots and complaints of an opposing faction at Athens, we may suspect that his liberality in public building at Athens does not belong to the last years of his life. And, whatever date we may assign to the structure, we have the following sequence:—

Pausanias writes his Attica.

Herodes builds the Odeion.

Pausanias writes his Arcadia.

The other landmark is as follows: Pausanias alludes in his Itinerary of Arcadia to Marcus Aurelius and, perhaps, to his victory over the Quadi which took place in A.D. 174. The passage is as follows: *Τοῦτον Εὐσεβῇ τὸν βασιλέα ἐκάλεσαν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι, διότι τῇ ἐς τὸ δεῖον τιμῇ μάλιστα ἐφαίνετο χρώμενος· δόξῃ δὲ ἐμῇ καὶ τὸ ὄνομα τὸ Κύρου φέροιτο ἂν τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου, πατὴρ ἀνθρώπων καλούμενος. Ἀπέλιπε δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ βασιλείᾳ παῖδα ὁμώνυμον· ὁ δὲ Ἀντωνίνος οὗτος ὁ δεύτερος καὶ τοὺς τε Γερμάνους, μαχιμωτάτους καὶ πλείστους τῶν ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ βαρβάρων καὶ ἔθνος τὸ Σαυρομάτων πολέμου καὶ ἀδικίας ἀρξάντας τιμωρούμενος ἐπεξῆλθε.*

The language here used has generally been taken to mean that

description in Hermas where the pastor bids those who build the tower to bring *ὄστρακον* and *ἄσβεστος* in order that they may make the neighborhood of the tower clean against the day of its inspection: *ὑπαγε καὶ φέρε ἄσβεστον καὶ ἄστρακον λεπτόν.* Is this Ostrakina the twelfth mountain of Hermas?

Pausanias was writing his eighth book subsequently to the defeat of the Quadi in 174. But it seems to me that while the passage has an air of having brought recent history down to date, that date is the date of the departure of the expedition against the Germans and not of its return. It becomes therefore possible to push back the date of the Arcadia nearly seven years earlier. We proceed on the supposition that Pausanias wrote his history and published it as he went along; this appears from the fact that the eighth book was written at a time when the first book was out of reach of correction. But even, on the earliest hypothesis, does it seem likely that Hermas could have written so late in the second century as to copy Pausanias? And if this seem too difficult an assumption, especially in view of the Muratorian canon, is there any other hypothesis that will explain the apparent coincidence? The alternative that first offers itself is the depression of the date of this portion of Hermas.

It has been noticed by Hilgenfeld that the writings attributed to Hermas fall, upon critical examination, into three groups: the first of these, which Hilgenfeld calls *Hermas apocalypticus*, comprises the first four Visions; the second part, which comprises Vis. v to Sim. vii, having Vis. iii for its prologue, and Similitude vii for its epilogue, is the true *Hermas pastoralis* or book of the Shepherd. The third division comprises Similitudes viii and ix with the tenth for an epilogue. This part of the book Hilgenfeld calls *Hermas secundarius*, and attributes to his editorial care (whoever he may be) the massing together of the whole series of writings. Now there is something to be said for this division, even if we may not feel like abandoning altogether the theory of the single authorship. May it not be that the last division is the later workmanship of the same hand as wrote the two former groups? In that case we are able still to hold to the Muratorian statement with the single restriction that it applies only to the earlier parts of the book. This would require us to assume that Hermas outlived his brother Pius by a number of years, depending, in part, upon the (doubtful) date of the death of Pius, or at least of the close of his episcopate. And even if this explanation be considered insufficient, it is still possible to adopt Hilgenfeld's theory of a later writer who re-edits and makes an appendix to the earlier Hermas (I do not of course mean to imply that Hilgenfeld makes Hermas fall so late as my theory would imply). And even if Pausanias should turn out not to be the true authority, the identification of the water sources of Corinth brought by Hadrian remains and lowers the date of Hermas accordingly.

It becomes proper now to return to the Arcadian allegory and see whether there is any other point where the comparison can be made geographically correct. And I should like, though in a somewhat tentative manner, to suggest that in the details of the building of the tower, Hermas has had some reference to the early Cyclopean buildings of which the ruins were still to be seen in Greece and especially in the Peloponnesus. Perhaps the best way to make my meaning clear will be to compare a passage in Hermas with descriptions taken from Pausanias and modern writers. In Sim. ix. vii. 4, we find Hermas speaking as follows: "I said to the Shepherd, How can these stones which have been condemned enter into the building of the tower? He answered and said unto me, Dost thou see these stones? I see them, sir, said I. Said he, I will cut away the greater part of these stones and put them into the building, and they shall fit in with the rest of the stones. How, sir, said I, can these stones when cut occupy the same room? He answered and said unto me, Those which are found to be small for their place shall be put into the middle of the building, while the larger ones shall be put outside, and so they will hold one another together."

Now let us compare with this the description which Pausanias gives of the wonderful Cyclopean walls of Tiryns. He tells us that these walls are made of unwrought stones of such size that a team of mules would not be able to shake even the smallest ones; and that smaller stones to these are fitted into the interstices of the larger ones, so as to produce the closest union between them.¹

I understand Hermas to mean to describe in his builded tower a work of Cyclopean character (which, by the way, appears also from the fact that there are only ten stones in the first course of the building), and the small stones which result from the process of cutting, to correspond to those which Pausanias describes as producing a union between the larger blocks. And it is clear from the description in Hermas that the larger blocks are unwrought stones (*ἀργὰ*). Those who wish to see the appearance of such a wall depicted will find it in Schliemann *Mycenæ and Tiryns*, p. 29, where it is called a "wall of the first period."

Similar Cyclopean remains may be found at other points in the

¹ τὸ δὴ τεῖχος, ὃ δὴ μόνον τῶν ἐρειπίων λείπεται, κυκλώπων μὲν ἔστιν ἔργον, πεποιήται δὲ ἀργῶν λίθων, μέγεθος ἔχων ἕκαστος λίθος ὥς ἀπ' αὐτῶν μὴδ' ἂν ἀρχὴν κινήθῃναι τὸν μικρότατον ὑπὸ ζεύγους ἡμιόνων· λίθια δὲ ἐνήρμωσται πάσαι ὥς αὐτῶν ἕκαστον ἁρμονίαν τοῖς μεγάλοις λίθοις εἶναι. Paus. ii. 25. 8.

Peloponnesus, such as the top of the mountain of Orchomenos, and the ruins of the ancient city of Lycosura in Southwest Arcadia.

And this identification helps us to explain a detail in Hermas' account; viz.: the way in which his tower is said to be built over the rock and *over the gate* (ἐπάνω τῆς πέτρας καὶ ἐπάνω τῆς πύλης). Special attention is given in these early buildings, such as the acropolis of Mycenæ and the like, to the defences of the entrance. The entrance to the gate of the Lions at Mycenæ is an illustration of this, the gate being placed at right angles to the wall of the citadel and approached through a passage formed by the citadel wall and a nearly parallel outer wall which formed part of the masonry of a tower by which the entrance was guarded. Schliemann adds to his description of this gateway an approving reference to Leake for pointing out that "the early citadel builders bestowed greater labour than their successors on the approaches to the gates. Another instance of a gate defended by a tower which projects over it is given by Curtius from the ruins of Lycosura: "On the east side of the city there is preserved a gate with a projecting tower (ein Thor mit einem Thurmvorsprunge).

I venture the suggestion, then, that Hermas in the Ninth Similitude, when working up again the subject of the Church-Tower, has been influenced by accounts of the Cyclopean buildings of the Peloponnesus. If his authority was a written one, it may have been Pausanias, as in the previous cases; unless some point can be brought forward to shew that Pausanias was unacquainted with what Hermas describes elsewhere, and that Hermas must have had written authority for the same.

To sum up the whole course of the preceding arguments: the scene of the Ninth Similitude of Hermas is really laid in Arcadia, probably in the plain of Orchomenos. Some of the mountain scenery which he describes is capable of exact identification by means of the Itinerary of Pausanias; and he has been influenced in his architecture by the Cyclopean remains of the Peloponnesus. Either the whole or at all events the latter part of the writings of Hermas should therefore be held of later date than the Arcadia of Pausanias. But the objection will be made that recent researches of German investigators and archæologists have shewn reason for believing Pausanias himself to be a wholesale thief and plunderer of previous guide-books to Greece. So that our investigation may lead rather to the reopening of the Pausanias question than to the solution of the Hermas chronology and geography.

The attack upon Pausanias was commenced by Willamowitz-Möllendorf (*Hermes* xii. 72) and sharply reinforced by Hirschfeld in an article in the *Archäologischezeitung* (XL = 1882, f. 97). Hirschfeld brings a good deal of evidence to shew that the list of statues of Olympian victors does not reach later than the second century B.C. ; and that the series stops here, not because there were no more Olympian victories commemorated, but because Pausanias is copying an earlier writer (probably Polemo), who does not pass this point of time in his descriptions : so that we may almost say that there is no evidence that Pausanias ever visited Olympia at all ; but that both he and Pliny drew upon earlier writers.

Now this problem is a very many-sided one, and the archæological world is still divided over it, and, until the discussion subsides somewhat, it is not easy to determine whether the defenders of Pausanias or his severe critics have won the day. My own judgment is still reserved upon the point. Hence we must also be careful in reference to *Hermas*. We may be reasonably sure that if Pausanias was never at Olympia, he was never in Arcadia ; but the preliminary hypothesis is not yet settled. Hence we content ourselves in the *Hermas* problem with affirming that *Hermas* really describes Arcadian scenery, but whether he takes his description from Pausanias or from some earlier Baedeker's Guide to Arcadia is as yet uncertain.